

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

What UNO should know about Palestine

At long last UNO has turned its attention to Palestine. But while deliberations have held fire, Arabs and Jews have not. It is now clear that Count Bernadotte sacrificed his life for nothing. The Plan which might, two months ago, have provided the basis for an acceptable solution has already joined the dozens of others drawn up by well-meaning, and less well-meaning, commissions in the last thirty years.

Buoyed up by their easy victories in Galilee and the Negeb, the Jewish representatives are refusing even to consider the Bernadotte Report. The November 29, 1947 resolution of the General Assembly, said Mr. Shertok on Monday, was the only valid basis for a settlement.

To the outsider that may seem singular. The Plan of Partition ap-

States, owing (as was subsequently revealed at the trial of the I. G. Farbenindustrie directors) to a cartel agreement between I. G. Farben, the Aluminium Company of America and the Dow Chemical Company (Cf. a BUP report in The Sunday Express, May 4, 1947).

As things are at present, Palestine Potash, Ltd., which secured its sole and exclusive rights "to obtain the mineral salts, minerals and chemicals in and beneath the waters of the Dead Sea" by a series of dubious negotiations with the Colonial Office in 1925 (Cf. The Palestine Mystery, by Arthur Rogers, Sterling Press, 2s.), is closely bound up with chemical combines elsewhere. One of its directors, Lord Glenconner, is actually a director of ICI as well.

Not only oil

THESE facts are sufficient to show that it is not only the oil magnates of the United States and Britain who have an interest in the settlement of Palestine; they may even help to explain the prolonged sabotage of the Bernadotte Plan by the representative of the United States. It is certain that until the UNO Assembly is in full possession of them, there cannot, and will not, be any realistic recommendations for a peace.

By contrast with the United States and Britain, the Soviet Union is, as I pointed out some months ago, in a singularly happy position in the Near East. It can appeal simultaneously, in its propaganda, to the rulers of

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COMMENTARY

by

BRUCE ODSPUR

proved in November, 1947, was almost universally regarded as absurd. But a glance at the map will reveal one all-important fact: this Plan, unlike Count Bernadotte's, bequeathed the whole south-west shore of the Dead Sea to Israel. And Israel, declares Mr. Shertok, is entitled to access to the chemical wealth of the Dead Sea.

I wonder how many of the delegates at UNO realised the full implications of that statement? For some unaccountable reason, the mineral wealth of Palestine has never figured prominently in their talks; the "fact-finding" committee itself made the astonishing assertion that,

"In the physical resources which are typically the basis of modern industrial development, Palestine is exceedingly poor, having neither coal, iron nor any other important mineral deposit. Indeed, the only considerable non-agricultural resources are the potassium and sodium salts which are extracted from the Dead Sea."

Yet a report issued by the Crown Agents for the Colonies in 1925 ("Production of Minerals from the Waters of the Dead Sea") estimated that the supplies of Potassium and Sodium Chloride alone amounted to 2,000 and 11,000 metric tons respectively; and pointed out, in addition, the existence of some £132,000,000,000 worth of Magnesium Chloride.

Dead Sea fruits

IT is hardly surprising that in 1928, Dr. Weizmann should have referred to the "Dead Sea Scheme" as essential to the success of the Jewish National Home; or that Mr. Shertok himself, three years ago, should have expressed anxiety as to the effect on it of the independence of Transjordan. It is safe to say that Israel will go to almost any length to ensure that the works of Palestine Potash, Ltd., are not located in potentially enemy territory.

And Israel is not alone in its concern. It would clearly be disastrous to chemical combines all over the world if the potential and actual production of the Dead Sea should pass beyond their control. How anxious these combines can be to limit supplies on the world market in the interests of their shareholders was amply demonstrated in 1941, when Britain, desperately in need of magnesium for aircraft construction, could secure only negligible amounts from the United

SYBIL MORRISON AT TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Where we differ from the Communists

SYBIL MORRISON, speaking on behalf of the Peace Pledge Union at the Trafalgar Square Peace Rally organised by the Daily Worker last Sunday, put before the meeting the pacifist case and the points of difference between those organising the rally and the PPU. Her speech, briefly mentioned in the Manchester Guardian, was otherwise unreported in the Press, including the Daily Worker.

After expressing her gratitude for the opportunity of addressing the rally, Sybil Morrison said:

"I AGREE with much that has been said by the previous speakers; I too want to see negotiation, disarmament and the development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union, but I differ in one respect and that is a fundamental. I do not say only 'No war with Russia' but no war at all with any country at any time. The tyranny of Fascism, the tyranny of capitalist imperialism, the tyranny of totalitarianism will never be overcome by the tyranny of war.

"The only way to ensure peaceful negotiations is to cease to put any faith in the arbitrament of force; the only way to abolish the atom bomb is to abolish war itself.

REFUSE TO FIGHT

"There is only one way for the ordinary human being and it is no easy way; it needs courage and willingness to suffer and endure and perhaps to die—it is the way of renunciation. Wars will cease when men refuse to fight, and we have the remedy now in our own hands.

"You have been told by the other speakers to go home, to go to your offices; to go to your factories, and urge upon your friends and fellow workers the need for pressing the Government to recognise your determination that there shall be no war with Russia.

"I ask you to do more than that; I ask you to make it plain that they cannot count upon you to make the weapons or to fight the war.

'WAR—WE SAY NO'

"The slogan of the Peace Pledge Union is 'War—We Say No'; our pledge is a straightforward statement of our right to refuse to do what we believe to be both futile and evil: 'I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.'

"I look forward to the day when all of you here at this great meeting, and all my friends upon this platform, will take that pledge and go forward with me to build the kind of society in which war, simply because there is no place for it, will be outlawed."

Rhys Davies, M.P., in an interview, tells of rebuke to Clergymen

"CHRIST WOULD DISOWN YOU BOTH"

A Peace News representative recently interviewed Rhys Davies, M.P., to inquire how the Peace and Anti-Conscription campaigns are proceeding. Rhys Davies stated that he receives more requests than ever to preach the gospel that is so dear to his heart. Some of his experiences during the past few weeks, however, amply illustrate the fact that the path of the peacemaker is not strewn with roses all the way.

RHYS DAVIES instanced the occasion when an English Baptist Chapel promised that a conference against military conscription would be allowed in the chapel vestry. On the morning of the conference, however, the secretary of the Chapel phoned the local organiser saying that such a conference could not, after all, be allowed in such hallowed precincts. "You must wire Rhys Davies informing him that the conference is cancelled," he said. But the conference was held, and very well attended, in the local Friends Meeting House. It must be added that it is doubtful whether the officers of the Chapel, apart from the secretary, knew what was happening.

Party tactics

The secretary of a trades' council in an important industrial centre wrote and asked if Rhys Davies would address a peace conference of Trade Union Branches, Co-operative Societies, Churches and Peace Societies in the district on a Saturday afternoon. He assumed that he would be the only speaker and consented. When, however, he received a printed invitation he found that, although his was the only name appearing on the invitation as a



RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

speaker, the letter accompanying it from the secretary informed him that, he "was pleased to say that he had been able to secure the services of two other very prominent speakers to appear on the same platform."

Would not use force

They were two Communists and Mr. Davies refused to appear at the conference, giving as his main reason that the Communists were not working for the same kind of Peace as he was. They would apparently wade through human blood in civil wars in every capitalist country to achieve the kind of Peace they want. He, on the other hand, would not use

force or shed a drop of human blood even to secure permanent peace among the nations of the world.

There was an excellent peace meeting in a seaside resort in the South, and when question time was reached the only two hostile questioners were both clergymen. Mr. Davies' reply to them was to the effect that "If Jesus Christ were at this gathering He would disown you both."

Fine Welsh record

Mr. Davies is a life long member of the Welsh Congregational connection; a denomination which has passed at every annual gathering during the last conflict a resolution against war. It is the largest denomination in the Principality.

To his Labour friends attending these meetings, Mr. Davies makes it clear that if Labour were in opposition instead of in power all his colleagues in the present House of Commons would most probably be preaching the very same gospel that he is expounding.

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PEACE NEWS

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Available from Newsagents and Bookstalls,
or direct from the above address.

Persecution

THERE are a few books which ought to be read by anyone trying to comprehend imaginatively the experience of Europe in the last decade. One of them is Marie Syrkin's "Blessed is the Match," from which we publish an extract this week. Mrs. Syrkin's "whole story of the Jewish Resistance in Europe" belongs to the same order as "The Dark Side of the Moon."

It is a book which no British reader can set aside without some searching of heart. The pacifist, who knows that to the extent to which he made an Allied defeat more likely, he made more likely the extension of Hitler's pogroms; the non-pacifist, who knows that his Government refused, for the cost of one day's fighting, to ransom 2,000,000 Jews from the gas-chambers (a revealing sidelight on the slogan, "to shorten the war and save lives"), will alike be haunted by unanswered, and perhaps unanswerable, questions.

Mrs. Syrkin has compiled from first-hand sources a history of the attempts by Palestinian parachutists, and Zionists in Geneva and Istanbul, to break into Hitler's prison-house; of the underground rescue organisation; of the desperate last stands at Warsaw, and even Treblinka; of the partisan units in Poland and Lithuania; of the non-violent resistance of Hagannah in Palestine itself. More impressive than all is her account of life in the ghettos, where Jews from all over Europe were concentrated under sentence of death.

The experience of these communities, endeavouring to preserve a human and cultured existence up till the last, is strictly unimaginable. "We belong to two different worlds, we cannot understand each other," so one after another of the survivors told Mrs. Syrkin, "You who were not there will never understand": and this we know to be true.

But how did it all come to pass? That is something we must understand. How was it possible that a nation of 80,000,000 souls, many of whom we have met and known to be at least as intelligent and warm-hearted as ourselves, should year after year have allowed these persecutions to go on, without effective resistance or even demonstration of sympathy for the victims?

Of course there were heroic exceptions, individuals who risked all for their Jewish neighbours. Of course the full extent of the horror could only be guessed by a majority; the fate which, Mrs. Syrkin insists, was successfully concealed from the Jews themselves till too late, could hardly have been known to the average German, every channel of information being controlled by the Nazi Government. Even so, what are we to make of the gentle official who, faced with the necessity of sending a friend and her children to their death, could only meet her pleading with regretful excuses—"I am very sorry, but everybody has seen you brought in, I must execute the order?"

The only answer to such questions seems so naive, so partly propagandist even, that one hardly dares give it here and yet, provided it is given in absolute humility, it is really the only possible answer: *There were too few conscientious objectors in Germany.*

Mrs. Syrkin quotes the terrible words of one survivor: "We know the Gentiles. If the Germans and Poles could do it, so can the rest of them." When we ourselves recall what intelligent, warm-hearted Englishmen and Americans have done at Hamburg and Hiroshima, dare we refute that saying with assurance?

In the last resort, the one and only guarantee against the repetition of such deeds is the resolution of individual men and women to reassume responsibility for their actions, to obey God or conscience rather than Caesar—even when, so far as the human eye can see, the sole result of their resolution will be the condemnation of their own as well as others' loved ones.

All is grist....

THE Memoirs of Cordell Hull" (Hodder and Stoughton, 50s.) throw some instructive sidelights on the policy of that "Faithful Friend of Freedom," as President Roosevelt is styled on the memorial tablet unveiled in Westminster Abbey last Friday.

"I join with the Prime Minister," said Mr. Churchill, "in paying tribute to the great statesman with whom we both worked in comradeship trust and good will..." No doubt he was thinking of the time in 1943-4, when he himself wanted to invade the Balkans in order to keep Russia out, while Roosevelt, without his knowledge, handed over Poland to Stalin.

"It is fitting," said Mr. Attlee, "that we should commemorate here the man whose high courage, foresight, wisdom and broad humanity contributed so greatly to preserve the ideals of Christian freedom and democracy." Quite so. After all, it was Roosevelt who won over a short-sighted British Government to the Morgenthau Plan, by pointing out that "Britain would acquire many of Germany's iron and steel markets and eliminate a dangerous competitor."

Finally, "Let us stand in silence while remembering a great Christian statesman," the Dean of Westminster proposed, while at the same moment, not far away, the Church Assembly was preparing to adopt the "Church and the Atom Report," condemning "unconditional surrender." Unconditional Surrender," we learn from Cordell Hull, was President Roosevelt's personal contribution to the discussions on war-aims, to which he adhered despite the initial protests of the Soviet and British Governments, and of the State Department itself.

IT is odd, when you come to think of it, that the onus of proving his sincerity should be laid on the CO, rather than the soldier; that the man who refrains from mass-destruction should be called upon to give reasons for his extraordinary behaviour, while the other is asked no questions. I used sometimes to picture what a Tribunal for soldiers would be like, and wonder how many recruits of 17 and 18—or, for that matter, 27 and 28 would be able to convince a panel of pacifist theologians, labour representatives and dons that they had thought out the question to the end, and adopted their present position uninfluenced by Evil Things.

This speculation has been revived in me by the reading of a recent book, "Ours not to Reason Why" (Muller,

7s. 6d.), consisting of eight essays by members of the Forces, on their reasons for joining up and the sort of world they hoped would emerge from an Allied victory. Written during the phoney war of 1939-40, these essays have dated less than they would have done three years later: Russia was still Germany's partner, and totalitarianism held sway from the Rhine to the Sea of Okhotsk.

I would not like to review this book. Pacifists are so generally expected to be self-righteous and narrow, that they tend to credit Servicemen with all the virtues. Nevertheless, the optimism of the authors does surprise me.

Had they confined themselves to stating that whatever the havoc, material and moral, wrought by war, it could not be as bad as the results of a Nazi victory, their case would be exceedingly strong. This is a point on which the most opposite opinions can be conscientiously held. But hardly one of them is content to stop at that. The majority anticipate a post-war world altogether more harmonious, tolerant and democratic than that of the 1930's—and this even when they admit, as one or two of them do, that such a world presupposes a moral re-birth!

Philip Mainprice alone faces firmly the brutal fact that "war only makes for such foulness" as Nazism displayed:

"If we could fight for simple things like Saturday afternoon football matches, and better hospitals, and the clearance of slums and the destruction of chisellers and grafters, I'd be the first to enlist, but war only does the opposite. War encourages the profiteer, brings misery to the individual and poverty to the nation. We can only fight for these things in peace-time, and then with words and deeds, not with guns."

But, since Philip Mainprice's reason for joining up was that work on the land as a CO would be "even more unpleasant" than soldiering, he would (though Vernon Bartlett, in his Introduction, finds his courage "all the more impressive on that account") fare badly at the hands of our Tribunal.

Of the others, those who refrained from optimistic speculation might be awarded unconditional exemption from land-work, even though only one comes from a military family, and the evidence is all against even his having been notoriously belligerent from childhood; but the Better Worlders could hardly hope for more than non-combatant duties. The Fulham Tribunal makes a point of asking applicants whether they have studied the case against pacifism; and it is all too clear that these have not studied the case for it.

Whatever the imaginary verdicts, however, one must admire the lofty impartiality of the War Office, which, with the same solicitude for the public morale has induced it to muzzle pacifists in 1940, banned the publica-

the small world of crime and its treatment we may learn a good deal about the needs of the larger world; trust and faith, understanding and assis-

LETTERS

tance and infinite patience are still the only constructive weapons and their use sets a pattern for the whole of life.

Farm Cottage,
Chilworth, Surrey.

That word "Pacifist"

I WOULD remind the writer of your leading article "Near Pacifism" that the world is not constituted of those who would cheerfully die for their principles, nor even of those who are willing and able to speak of their convictions in the market place. But there are today a very large number of people who realise that something is definitely wrong with the world, to whom two wars have brought the conviction that War is altogether a wrong way of settling international disputes, and with an even deeper conviction that "there must be some better way."

If we can convince these people that our way is the right one, many of those who are now uncertain would

STILL MORE

LAST Sunday some 200 copies of Peace News were sold in Trafalgar Square. That is immensely encouraging: it means that the paper is serving its purpose, of carrying the pacifist message quite literally to the man-in-the-street, who might never otherwise hear of it.

But occasional sales on this scale cannot make up for the lack of regular subscribers. We need at least a thousand more, if PN is to continue in being; two thousand, if we are to take full advantage of the increased paper ration soon to be available.

If you cannot yourself help us to find these new subscribers—that is to say, if you have already got PN on to the local bookstall, into the local library, and introduced it to all your friends—will you please subscribe all you possibly can to the Fund—and a little more?

THE EDITOR.

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tion of these essays until after the War.

EVEN the planetary indications, I learn from Old Moore, were "strongly in favour of the Republican candidate being elected to the USA Presidency." That should give Dr. Gallup fresh heart. After all, as he observed last week, public opinion polling is still a very young science; and if astrology after three or four thousand years can still trip up on an issue like this, there really need be no cause for misgiving.

WHAT is more disturbing is to find, in the Almanack, no mention at all of the Royal Birth. At the very least I expected to see some reference to interesting conditions in the Western Hemisphere. But no: Old Moore, who only twelve years ago predicted the abdication of Edward VIII, now passes straight on to the question of "Trade Union procedure" and an international Dope racket involving "prominent industrial firms in UK and USA."

Surely the planets cannot have overlooked so important an event? "At my nativity," reported an earlier Prince of Wales:

The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes, Of burning cressets; and at my birth The frame and huge foundation of the earth Shook like a coward.

Nature has admittedly grown less excitable since those days. But even so, this new alignment between Old Moore's Almanack and The Daily Worker is surely ominous. One wonders whether Parliament ought not to appoint a Commission to investigate infiltration among the Heavenly Bodies. That new comet reported last week, for instance...?

John Miller

undoubtedly come in and help us, and might even make better pacifists than we are.

Now that a new Campaign to obtain new members is being launched we should surely welcome in all sincere folk, even if they cannot go all the way with us. In our own ranks there are differences of opinion and whilst I may be an "absolutist" I do not think that we shall immediately convince the average man and woman on these lines, but if we can get them sufficiently interested in our views to make them want to work with us, then we have our chance, and once they are on our side, they will probably be pacifists before they realise that "that word" (which they object to so much) means them!

ETHEL A. LEWIS.

The Manse, Brill,
Aylesbury, Bucks.
(Doesn't much depend on what "our way" is? If "our way" is individually to renounce war, it is hard to see how anyone can go part, but not "all the way" with us. What does a half-renunciation of war mean?—and what does it imply?—Ed.)

(Letters continued on page five.)

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

TAKE YOUR STAND

Courage is better than conventionality: take your stand and let the world come round to you. Do not think you are right and everybody else wrong. If you think you are wrong then you may be right; but if you think you are right then you are certainly wrong. Your deepest highest moral conceptions are only for a time. They have to give place. They are the envelopes of freedom—that eternal Freedom which cannot be represented—that peace which passes understanding.

—Edward Carpenter, Englands Ideal.

Jews in Palestine will never forget

THE STORY OF JOOP WESTERWHEEL

IN Palestine, whenever I met the handsome, sturdy young Jews from Holland, the talk would eventually turn to Shushu and Joop: so writes Marie Syrkin, in her book, "Blessed is the Match" (Gollancz, 10s. 6d.). Shushu (Joachim Simon) and Joop Westerweel were the two men chiefly responsible for organising the escape of Jews from Nazi-occupied Holland during the years 1940-44. Both paid for their courage with their lives.

The following passages describing Joop's work, and some of its long-term consequences, are reprinted from "Blessed is the Match," by permission of Alfred A. Knopf Inc (Copyright 1947 by the Jewish Publication Society).

SHUSHU had been associated in his work with a Christian, Joop Westerweel. Joop was a Christian anarchist and a pacifist. Though the son of a pastor, he had apparently embarked early on an unconventional career. In his youth he had gone as a teacher to the Netherlands East Indies, where he agitated against the exploitation of the natives. He urged the Chinese to rebel against colonial oppression. In addition, he refused to serve in the army because he was an anti-militarist. It is therefore not surprising to learn that he was imprisoned several times.

Teacher and parent

After six years in the Indies he returned to Holland, where he established a Montessori school. He was interested in modern pedagogy and conducted progressive educational experiments. Through one of the Jewish leaders in his school, he became acquainted with Shushu. By this time Joop was a man past forty with a family of four children, but neither age nor family obligations had dampened his crusading spirit. He made the cause of the Jews his own. A number of his teachers and fol-

lowers became involved in the work of hiding Jewish children.

After Shushu's death, Joop undertook to organise the escape of Jews into Spain. A survivor of one of these journeys has given an account of the farewell words spoken by Joop at the foot of the Pyrenees:

Cross this difficult road successfully and build your homeland, a homeland for the whole Jewish people. But do not forget that you are bound to all humanity, something which you perhaps learned in Holland. Do not forget us, your non-Jewish comrades.

On one of these expeditions Joop Westerweel was caught by the Gestapo. A letter from his wife which reached Palestine in June, 1945, told of his end:

How good to get your letter, to know that so many of you reached Palestine. Joop would have found it wonderful if he had known it. He was shot in August. He was the mainstay of the nine others who had worked with him. You did not know him so well, but you can imagine what his loss means to me. . . .

On Sept. 6 I was sent to Ravensbruck. I shall not write about the tortures. Of one transport of 750 women, only 250 survived. We were freed by the Red Cross, and are now in Sweden.

In September I shall be back in Holland; but what is my house to me? I have heard nothing of my children since August, 1944. Write me about Palestine; I am interested in your experiences.

Such is the letter of the Christian wife of the Christian Joop.

A young girl who spoke to me in Dahlia said to me of Joop and Shushu: "They gave us a sense of dignity so that now we can live." And she added: "How we live is more important than that we live."

The importance of the rescue action lay not only in the actual salvation of thousands. It consisted also in the heightened morale of the individuals who had participated in it. They had not submitted passively to the decrees of the Nazis. They had not reported for "work," as the Jewish Council had recommended. They had not fled when in a position to do so. On the contrary, from 1940, the date of the Nazi invasion, till the day of liberation they had fought the German assassins with every available means. Each Jewish child smuggled over the Alps into Switzerland, each adult led across the Pyrenees, each person hidden and helped at daily peril, represented a victory over the Germans in which the risks were as great as in open battle.

In Holland only

Letters, like that of Joop's wife, explain why the only group of Jewish survivors who had no words save of gratitude for the non-Jews among whom they had lived, were those who had come from Holland. There was no trace of the intense bitterness, the fierce disillusionment of the Jews of Poland and the Balkans. Even the Jews of France had tasted the misery of persecution at the hands of the French collaborators. But Holland had been singularly pure.

One gets an idea of the love inspired by Holland from an appeal which was published in the Davar, the Labour daily of Palestine, shortly before the end of the war. This appeal, signed by a number of Dutch Jews who had escaped to Palestine,

among them old Professor de Wolff, urged young Palestinians, who had received their agricultural training (Hachsharah) in Holland, to return to Holland to aid in the Dutch underground, now that large-scale resistance was becoming possible.

The victory came shortly after this call was published, so that it is impossible to state how it was answered. But the mere fact that such an appeal could have been made by the leading figures of Jewish resistance in Holland, is evidence enough of how the valiant little land of the tulip-beds and dykes was remembered by the Jews who had struggled there. The words of Joop at the foot of the Pyrenees—"remember us, your non-Jewish comrades"—would not be readily forgotten. Such words had been all too rare in the experience of Jews during the Hitler decade.

Christian oasis

The sense of isolation from the rest of mankind, which is perhaps the chief scar on the soul of the Jewish survivors, is not to be observed among the young people who came from Holland. I can think of no greater tribute to the Dutch people. The survivors from Holland are less tragic, because less lonely, figures than those who came out of Eastern Europe. Their physical sufferings were as great; their families and friends had also been murdered by the Germans; but they had been enabled to feel that their suffering had one source—the infamy of the Nazi. Holland was a Christian oasis in heathenised Europe, and from its spring of charity Jewish hearts drank deep.

The Non-Violent Society

DR. J. C. KUMARAPPA, the secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association at Wardha, is one of those men who practice what they preach. At Cabinet meetings, English tea parties or the throne rooms of kings, he is dressed always in the special cloth-saving dhoti that he has made famous. His personality, too, is every bit as unusual and as carefully integrated with his ideals as his dress. Not for a minute does he tolerate hypocrisy or compromise with his convictions.

In his book "The Economy of Permanence" he describes how once a benevolent capitalist, who had just shown him with pride over his gold mine, turned to ask him whether he had any suggestions as to how the welfare of the miners could be improved. "Yes," replied Dr. Kumarrappa promptly. "Close down the mine."

Then there was his hostess in Delhi whom he surprised by placing on her plate at breakfast the cake of Tata soap that she had provided for his comfort and asking her solemnly how she expected him to wash his hands in the blood of the children of Malabar, where the Tata coconut groves, planted to supply fat for the manufacture of their fancy soap, have replaced the rice fields.

MAN WITH FEW ENEMIES

But such caustic comments make Dr. Kumarrappa few enemies. Even as he pronounces them in that voice of his which can have at times such a sharp and sarcastic edge, there is a boyish twinkle in his eye, an engaging grin hovering over his mouth. For in spite of his apparent pugnacity, Dr. Kumarrappa, like so many others who live and work at Sevagram, is at peace with the world. He can afford to be. What has a man to fear when he can meet all his own wants, when he is no longer the bewildered, helpless victim of a system

HALLAM TENNYSON who has recently returned from India after spending two years working there on a Friends Service Unit village rehabilitation project, concludes his three articles on The Non-violent Society. In his earlier articles he examined the work being done at the Basic Education School at Sevagram and the aims and achievements of the All India Village Industries Association which has its headquarters in Wardha and whose secretary is Dr. J. C. Kumarrappa.

that is out of harmony with the deeper needs of his spirit? Such a man has everything to give and nothing to receive.

I think that we in the West have an immense amount to learn from the integral pacifism that is being worked out at Sevagram. For years Wilfred Wellock and a handful of others have advocated a decentralised economy. I believe that until we are prepared to put his counsel into practice in our own lives we cannot claim to be working for world peace.

And it is just here that the work at Sevagram and Wardha is of such vital importance. We may disagree with some of their theories; argue that the lines of approach that they have chosen are only applicable to a largely unindustrialised country, but I am sure that we risk the complete frustration of our intentions if we ignore the need to start evolving here and now a new type of society, in which non-violence can be effective and which fits in with the conditions of our age.

Let us not be depressed by the magnitude of the task before us. Even in India, despite the reverence in which Gandhi was held, there are few enough people who understand or follow out his ideals. The heaven is small.

First let us decide that we ourselves will not participate in those aspects of our economic system that are based on exploitation and violence. Let us seriously consider our moral responsibilities as consumers and set up guilds to enquire into the history of the goods on the market. In this way we would establish once more a healthy sense of our inter-dependency and do something to change the passive role which we now play as con-

sumers. We must be prepared to deny ourselves rigorously all those goods which seem to be produced in circumstances of violence or exploitation. And if sincerely followed through this may involve a change in our standard of values and a simplification of our lives which would be of inestimable benefit.

Much can be done through our educational system towards a non-violent ordering of our society. We should revolutionise the prevailing ideas of work, and give children a completely new approach to their environment. Everything that a child learns in the primary stages should be related directly to some activity that he undertakes, some experience that he meets in everyday life. Let him take part in providing his own primary necessities so that he can feel these things to be under his control, and understand the very processes by which he lives, and of which at the moment he is nothing but a passive, helpless victim.

Instead of the terrific emphasis on games—which is work in tabloid form; i.e. giving us its merely physical benefits—why not have some of the playing field space converted into farms? Where schools are situated in industrial areas everything should be done to develop the children's understanding of their environment and to make them feel that they themselves can control it.

It is no good crying "hands off" Persian oil or African raw materials, until we have an economy that can do without these things: an economy that is not built up on the assumption that it will be able to exploit for its own purposes more than its fair share of the world's wealth.

Let us press rather for a change in

3. INDIA AND THE WEST

our whole way of life at home: intensify our agriculture (and there are still huge amounts of undeveloped land); put our industrial research workers on to discovering more effective ways in which we can use our resources, rather than on to increasing our efficiency in the mass production of luxury goods for the export trade, in return for which we at present import so many of our primary necessities from abroad.

Not until we have achieved this re-orientation of our economic life can we expect our government to withdraw from power politics.

EUROPEAN EXAMPLES

Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have developed their economic systems along these lines. Is it purely a coincidence that they have been relatively unaffected by the two world wars? Even though they were dragged into the last war, Norway and Denmark alone of all the occupied countries seem to have had the moral courage to resist Nazism with non-violent methods, with the result that they retained their traditional institutions and a large share of their democratic liberties and have with remarkable speed since the end of the war returned to their healthy pre-war standard of life. What a difference it might make, even at this late hour, if the whole might of Britain and the Commonwealth could be pledged to the building up of a non-violent society in this way.

But let no-one be misled: it is not the line of least resistance. It requires self-denial, discipline, renunciation, and above all courage. As Gandhi himself never tired of pointing out, non-violence is the weapon of the brave not of the cowardly. Let us answer the challenge that India has made and let all those of us in the West who are pledged to a negative resistance to war, start now, before it is too late, laying the positive foundations of peace in our own lives and in those of the societies in which we live.

First arrests under new U.S. Conscription Act

WORLD WAR II C.O.s AND G.I.s REFUSE TO REGISTER

THE FIRST ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE NEW DRAFT (MILITARY CONSCRIPTION) LAW WHICH CAME INTO FORCE LAST AUGUST. ONE NINETEEN-YEAR-OLD MEMBER OF THE WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE HAS ALREADY RECEIVED A TWO-YEAR'S SENTENCE OF IMPRISONMENT.

The first arrest in the New York area for refusal to register for military service was made on Sept. 22, when Stuart Perkoff, aged 18 years, reported his refusal to register to the FBI. Federal Judge, Perkoff was given a week in which to change his mind.

"The Judge clearly did not like the prospect of trying Perkoff," reports the New York War Resisters' League. "Nevertheless, when Perkoff announced a week later that he still would not register, the Assistant U.S. Attorney was asked to seek an indictment."

Brought before a police court on October 12, Perkoff declared that he would not take one step in aid of war. His father, his lawyer and the magistrate pleaded with him to change his mind, according to the New York correspondent of the Daily Express, but Perkoff refused to do so. His lawyer then suggested that the defendant might change his mind after spending a few days in a cell. The magistrates agreed.

Other arrests in the U.S., reported by the War Resisters' International, include:

Ralph Cook, 19, of Portland, Maine, pre-theological student at Earlham College, son of a Quaker minister: sentenced to two years in a Federal Prison.

Harold Flakser, 23, of Brooklyn, New York, ex-Service man and conscientious objector to conscription: now on bail awaiting trial.

Sander Katz, 24, of New York City, previously served 19 months in a Federal Prison as a CO during World War II: arrested in New York City on Oct. 22 for non-registration and held in jail; refused to post \$625 bail.

Lynwood Dodge, on parole from a five-year sentence passed during the war: remanded for non-registration.

John Leonard Singletary and Millard Hunt, both ex-Service men and theological students of Macon, Georgia: now on \$250 bail, awaiting trial.

Gerald Williams: awaiting trial in Portland, Maine.

Philip G. Howard, 19, of Pasadena, California: held in \$625 bail.

Robert Peters, 19, and J. Newton Garver, 21, both of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania: ordered to appear before the Federal District Commissioner on Oct. 29.

PICKETS ARRESTED

Other arrests were made when Military Registration Centres throughout the USA were picketed. Among those arrested outside the Washington Irving High School in Manhattan, was Michael Edison Sloane, seventeen-year-old grandson of the late Thomas A. Edison and nephew of Charles Edison, former Secretary of the Navy. The other four pickets arrested with him were World War II ex-Servicemen.

Pickets carried posters with the slogans "Refuse to be drafted," "The Draft means a Goose-stepping America," "The Draft means Regimentation" and "The Draft Creates Young Stormtroopers."

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, November 19, 1938

The Government ought to be pressed to . . . help the Jewish refugees.

All who possibly can should invite into their own homes for three or six months individual Jews in need in Germany. Alternatively, if people in this country can guarantee that individual Jews will not become a charge on public funds, the Home Office objection to their admission to this country will be overcome.

There are various organisations in this country that can relate offers of assistance to actual needs. This will put any offers of the kind received by it into appropriate channels.

On Sunday Times of Nov. 13, I notice that Flying Officer . . . of No. 20 Squadron, . . . awarded the Distinguished Cross for "conspicuous devotion to duty." It shows it appears that . . . consisted in . . . bombing and . . . tribesmen without . . .

We approve civil disobedience —U.S. QUAKERS

A meeting representing American Quakers, held recently at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, issued the following statement:

A living concern having been expressed that Friends' practices be consistent with their professions, Friends are urged:

1. To support Young Friends and others who express their opposition to conscription either by non-registration, or by registration as conscientious objectors. We warmly approve civil disobedience under Divine Compulsion as an honourable testimony fully in keeping with the history and practices of Friends.

2. To recognize that the military system is not consistent with Christ's example of redemptive love, and that participation, even in a non-combatant capacity, weakens the testimony of our whole Society. Nevertheless, we hold in respect and sympathetic understanding all those men who in good conscience choose to enter the armed forces.

3. To extend our religious concern and assistance to all conscientious objectors who may fall outside the narrow definition of the Selective Service Act of 1948.

4. To avoid engaging in any trade, business, or profession directly contributing to the military system; and the purchase of government war bonds or stock certificates in war industries.

5. To carefully consider the implication of paying those taxes, a major portion of which goes for military purposes.

6. To ask our Quaker schools and colleges to refuse to accept military training units or contracts, or military subsidies for scientific research, and to advise Young Friends not to accept military training in other institutions.

7. To create a home and family atmosphere in which the ways of love and reconciliation are so central that the resort to violence in any relationship is impossible.

8. To help develop the institutions, methods and attitudes necessary to a harmonious and peaceful world; to replace political anarchy, national sovereignty and war by law and government; to press for world disarmament beginning unilaterally with the United States, if necessary, instead of the present armaments race; to work for the immediate repeal of draft legislation; and to share willingly and sacrificially our resources for the rebuilding of the world.

the usual courteous notice or so much as sounding his horn. This "daring feat" he repeated, as the saying is:

Not once now and then
But agen and agen.

flying low "with complete disregard for his own safety," says the report. From which it would appear that the sport of massacring tribesmen has its risks, like hunting.

It is not long since Mussolini Junior, wrote a book about this sport, and I remember some ugly adjectives being applied to him which I see no purpose in repeating.

—Reginald Reynolds.

M.P.s call for new East-West negotiations

More than one pacifist M.P. addressed the House of Commons in the adjournment debate on East-West relationships, on November 8.

OPENING the discussion, Mr. Emrys Hughes recalled President Truman's abortive proposal to send Judge Vinson to Moscow. He believed that any such mission, if it could convey to Stalin the idea that there existed in America a genuine desire for agreement, should receive the sympathetic backing of His Majesty's Government.

He was supported by Mr. Victor Yates and Mr. James Hudson.

"When I was in the United States just over 12 months ago," Mr. Yates observed, "I was shocked by the attitude of the Press from day to day. Practically daily for about seven weeks, I read the American Press, and it all seemed to be in one strain: it preached the inevitability of war and encouraged mass hysteria, and I came away feeling that it would be almost impossible for the people of America to resist mass suggestion, although some of my friends in America said: 'The Press is not quite as powerful as you seem to think. After all there are many thousands of people in America who are working for peace; and, indeed, as time goes on you will find that their opinions will be understood and heard.'"

Now, however, President Truman's electoral victory had shown him how true that was; and "Because the President of the United States has such freedom at the moment I hope that our own Government will seize on this opportunity to encourage and support him in any effort he may make to bring about a better understanding."

HOPEFUL SIGNS

Mr. Hudson likewise saw in the American Election signs that the people of the United States were in favour of renewed attempts to negotiate patiently with the Russians. He believed that "the Stalin system" was inherently unstable, ultimately self-destructive, and that before long "the Russians will themselves be compelled to look for a way out of the difficulties which they themselves have created."

"Hon. Members hear again and again suggested that there must be something behind that Iron Curtain which the Russians wish to conceal. I believe that is true. I believe that the returning Russian soldiers from Austria and Berlin—the men who have been almost cheek by jowl with our own soldiers and American soldiers—have taken back a story of what is happening in Western Europe which does not square at all with what the Communists tell them behind the Iron Curtain; and, given patience, this process of Russian Imperialism, as I call it, based upon the power wielded by a great military leader, backed up by an effective police force, will in the long run contribute to its own destruction. It has contributed now to its own destruction in France and in other parts of the world."

"It may be very difficult to have patience to wait until these things run their course, but, on the other hand, it would be very foolish to break out into

new warlike enterprises if these could be avoided by patience which might produce other results."

Mr. Hudson did not think the Russian suspicion of the West entirely unreasonable. He cited Prof. Blackett's evidence (in "The Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy") in support of his statement that "the dropping of the bomb was a good deal more than the first blow in the cold war which has since developed than the final blow in the war that has just ended."

"It is these facts described by Prof. Blackett and the facts known in Russia that have contributed on their side to an unyielding suspicion about our attitude in the world. I do not blame them for that. I say to the Russians—so far as my advice can reach them from these Benches in the Adjournment Debate—that they are called upon now by the situation in which they find themselves to find new methods to face the world dangers which concern us all."

"If it is true that Mr. Truman can persuade America to give him another chance to send Judge Vinson or any other emissary to meet Mr. Stalin in order to try to break down the suspicion which the atom bomb has created and the wrong policies pursued by the Russians as well as ourselves, every effort ought to be made to help him towards that end."

No representatives of the Foreign Office were present at this debate, and it was only scantily reported in the British Press.

HUNGARY PAYS A DEBT

IN return for hospitality given to Hungarian children in France in 1946, the Hungarian Red Cross recently invited 370 French children for two months' vacation in Hungary, all but ten of the children being placed with private families.

Among the 370 children, reports the Hungarian Bulletin, only the fifty who were children of Hungarian families living in France knew any Hungarian on their arrival. When the children left, all of them were able to make themselves understood in Hungarian. Each child gained an average of 8.8 lbs. during the stay. Entraide Francaise was among the organisations responsible for selecting the children.

FIGHT AGAINST TB

Twelve Hungarian welfare workers recently attended a UNICEF child therapy and protection course in Paris and on their return to Budapest gave a report at a Press Conference of their experiences gained during the course and also of children's homes and child care organisations visited in France, Belgium, Britain and Holland.

THINKER'S DIGEST

A Symposium of Modern Thought

Contributions to the Winter issue include:

Ape Into Man	SIR ARTHUR KEITH
The Language of the Eye	HERBERT READ
E. M. Forster	JOHN LEHMANN
The Origin of Christianity	GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.
Teaching English	SIR PHILIP HARTOG
Democratic Education	LIONEL ELVIN
Scholarship and the Bible	THE BISHOP OF BRISTOL
Back to the Land	THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH
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Advice for C.O.s

NON-COMBATANT DUTIES DEFINED

FOR COs appearing before a Local Tribunal, the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors of 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1., have prepared a small card which states that the Tribunal can register those appearing as:

- COs without conditions;
 - COs conditionally on their undertaking work of a civil character, e.g., land or hospital work or mining;
 - COs liable to be called up for Army service, but to be employed only in non-combatant duties.
- Or can remove their names from the register of COs and register them for military service.

The reverse side of the card states that training in the Non-Combatant Corps consists of:—

- foot drill without arms;
- physical training;
- passive air defence;
- anti-gas measures;
- decontamination of rearward areas;
- specialist duties, e.g., cooking and clerical work.

And that the regular duties of men in the NCC includes:—

- construction and maintenance of hospitals, barracks, camps, railways, roads, and recreation grounds;
- care of burial grounds;
- employment in baths and laundries;
- passive air defence;
- quarrying, timber cutting, filling-in of trenches;
- general duties (not involving the handling of military material of an aggressive nature) e.g., loading and transport of goods, camouflage, the care of food and petrol supplies, helping local nurserymen and farmers, canteen and mess services, telephone and fire-fighting services, road making and debris clearing.

Men in the NCC do not carry arms.

A poster recently published by the Northern Friends Peace Board notifies young men of 17-18 liable for military service of their right to register as conscientious objectors. Copies may be purchased from the Northern Friends Peace Board, Friends Meeting House, Clifford Street, York.

AIR LIFT SIDELIGHT

The inhabitants of Berlin are facing a grim winter. Up to now, though cold weather has set in, no coal or wood has been available in the Grunewald, the forest next to the city, most trees were cut down during the cold winter of 1946-47. Now other forests are being cut, even where it is forbidden. Here the air lift is a help. During the night one can see dark figures sitting amid the trees. When a plane goes overhead all the men leap up, seize their axes, and work furiously. When the noise subsides, they stop; but in a few moments they can resume their labours. The air lift is not able to bring in wood: but it helps people steal it.—W. P.

MORLEY COLLEGE CONCERTS SOCIETY

Central Hall

FRIDAY, NOV. 26, at 7.

Byrd: Mass for 5 Voices.
Vaughan Williams: Riders to the Sea.
Mozart: Coronation Mass.

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Morley College Choir & Orchestra.

Conductors:

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at Hall (Whi. 4259) & Chappell's (May 7600).

Japanese Girl's Plea for Peace

THE following letter, written by a thirteen-year-old Japanese girl, Hideke Inourie, of the Shinagawa Girls' High School, to an Australian correspondent is reprinted by the courtesy of the International Youth Review. Hideke Inourie does not mention that she lost her right hand through an incendiary bomb.

To some Schoolgirl in Australia,

I am afraid you may not like receiving this letter or answering it, because I am Japanese. But I hope it is not so.

I am not your enemy. It may help a little if I tell you that I too have suffered—my three brothers, they are asleep; and my house, it is burnt.

Out of all this cruelty and hatred and mistake, could we not arrange that there should be peace and prosperity and happiness for all countries? I want it that way.

Even to a war-scarred land like mine, Spring will come. It is coming now, with plum-blossom and cherry and happiness and warmth. How do we arrange that it might be Spring for all the world?

I would beg you believe that I write this letter not with my pen, but with my heart.

Hideke Inourie.

EUROPE SCARRED WITH ALL THAT WAR POLICY STOOD FOR

— Mrs. Leah Manning

The third of the "Approach to Peace" lunch-hour meetings organised by the National Peace Council was addressed on Nov. 10 by Mrs. Leah Manning, M.P.

MRS. MANNING, a well-known politician and educationalist, stressed the responsibility of such people in regard to peace and war. The way in which statesmen conducted affairs with other countries and their fellow statesmen meant either the ending of war or the starting of it. But it was the educationalists, including teachers, clergy, journalists, propagandists, publicists and writers who ultimately influenced public opinion. In the end it was public opinion which decided the issue, and it was therefore the responsibility of educationalists to sway the public mind away from the evil tension of war.

TRUMAN: A PEACE VOTE

Mrs. Manning said she sincerely believed that the recent American election, in so far that it gave Mr. Truman a majority, was a peace vote.

The American people did not want war, and Mr. Truman's proposal to send an envoy to talk to Mr. Stalin had endeared him to the hearts of the people. He had sincerely endeavoured to ease the tension which makes people think war inevitable. By his action Mr. Truman had carried

out the advice of the great statesman Gen. Smuts who earlier this year said:—

"The way powers should speak to each other is as man to man. Russia is just as much in the dark as the Western Nations. If assurances have to be given to Russia let us give them, and if assurances are required from Russia let her give them. Let clarity be achieved."

It was infinitely more important that statesmen should meet to discover ways of continuing peace, than to spend time and money on meeting to discuss war.

Europe was scarred with all that the policy of preparedness for war stood for. Germany was a vanquished nation with her people living in starvation and misery. What protection did we give ourselves by taking our young men out of peace time industry and putting them into the services for the fighting of war? Why was our money going into armaments instead of into the industries and trades which will buy us the happiness we want, Mrs. Manning asked. The bitter truth was that we would not try to break down the tension.

It was the people's job to break down those barriers which made for war, for it was the people's opinion which counted in the end. "It is only in this way," Mrs. Manning concluded, "that we can build a happier world for ourselves and our children and a happier world for the men, women and children of our brother nations."

(The Pacifist Profile has had to be held over this week owing to the pressure on space.)

Letters to the Editor

(Continued from page two)

Tolstoy's challenge

IN the article on Tolstoy (PN, Oct. 29), Percy Redfern quotes Berdyaev as referring to Tolstoy's religious ideas as "quite unacceptable to Christians." He points out that what is "unacceptable" to theologians may be the very breath of life to other Christians.

I would like to add that Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of Heaven is Within You" (now unfortunately out of print) has revolutionised the lives of thousands of Christians around the world. The chapter on Christ's words, "Resist not evil" brought the first challenge of pacifism to hundreds of us. The chapter on "Judge not" released a host of people from their inherited smugness of outlook. Another chapter, "Be not anxious," introduced many a confirmed "fusser and worrier" to serenity.

In all this Tolstoy has revealed how the essence of Christ's teaching may be worked out in common everyday life.

His short stories are jewels, perhaps the nearest thing the human race has to the parables of Jesus; e.g., "The Godson," "Ivan the Fool," "How Much Land Does a Man Need?" "Little Girls Wiser Than Grown Men," "Where Love is God is," and "Evil Allures but Good Endures."

Some might say that Tolstoy's influence reached its height when Gandhi was lent "The Kingdom of

God is Within You" and having absorbed it eagerly, knew it marked an epoch in his life. Henceforth the power of Non-Violence was indubitable to him.

MURIEL LESTER.

Kingsley Cottage,
47 Baldwins Hill,
Loughton, Essex.

Defending the West

MR. CRANSTON, in his criticism last week of my recent article on the defence of the West, misunderstands me, though I think it is my fault, not his.

I did not say that there was nothing in Western culture to defend—its art, its technology, its attitudes and even its political institutions obviously contain elements which should and could be defended: I said that there is nothing which can be defended, either by force or by other means, because the pattern itself is its own worst enemy, and is at root an absence of cultural pattern.

I rather doubt, in any case, whether it is a cultural pattern which Lord Montgomery was employed to defend. Cultural patterns can, in general, only be defended by their own vitality. Military commanders are concerned, at the technical level at least, with the defence of physical cities and frontiers, and with the maintenance of a psychological attitude which makes physical defence possible. My point is that urban concentrations today are physically indefensible, and that the social anthropology which goes with them is itself a cause of psychological illness.

ALEX COMFORT.

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PERSONAL

EXHIBITION OF Water Colours by Marjorie Turberville of the Lake District at the Friends House, Euston Rd., Dec. 7, 8 and 9. Tuesday to Thursday.

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A GERMAN Christmas Card for your ex-POW friends is included in our selection of six attractive designs. Send 2/3 for a sample of each (post free) to Endsleigh Cards (PN Ltd.) 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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MEETINGS

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Andrew Buchanan, Film Producer on "The Approach to Peace," Wed., Nov. 24, at 1.15 p.m. National Peace Council.

LONDON, S.W.1., Dec. 4 CO Restaurant Dinner, 7.0 p.m., Stewart's Restaurant, Victoria. Guests of Honour, H. Runham Brown, and John P. Fletcher. Details from Rex Whitaker, 76 Mount Nod Road, S.W.16. Tel.: STR. 0083.

LONDON, W.1., Weigh House Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Rond St.) Sunday Evenings at 7. The Chapel of Peace! Social Hour follows.

Will peace come to China?

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Israel and the appallingly exploited masses of the Arab States. The defeat of all the member-States of the Arab League with the exception of Trans-jordan would shake their Governments to their rickety foundations and pave the way for Communist insurrections which, even if unsuccessful, would seriously impair the economic plans of the Western Powers. At the same time, by winning the sympathy of the Jews, the Soviet Union may hope ultimately to derive some profit itself from their exclusive control of the Dead Sea.

Chinese puzzle

STALIN must be smiling all over his face today. The Communist victories in China are causing something like panic in U.S. Government quarters. And no wonder! A Communist China would almost certainly prelude a Communist Asia. It is doubtful whether India herself could resist the pressure from North and East, though the prospect may increase the desire of her present rulers to retain their connection with the Commonwealth.

But it is too soon to predict a Communist China. What the events of the last three weeks mean is that the Great Powers can no longer assume confidently, as they have done in the past, that outright victory for either side is impossible—and leave China to stew in her own juice. The Kuomintang is visibly crumbling, and Chiang Kai-shek's promise of another eight years of war is unlikely to restore its attraction.

The time seems to be ripe for intervention—but not military intervention by the Great Powers. America will earn small thanks in the long run from military help to Chiang Kai-shek; it will only drive still more nationalists into the arms of the Communists, who, at least on the surface, are independent of outside support. Intervention on behalf of an armistice might serve some purpose now.

Partition?

ONCE before in this column. I suggested that the partition of China along the Yangtse-kiang was a feasible proposition, and now The New Statesman has taken up the idea. Were America to broach this with the contending Governments, surely it would be hard for either to refuse, if the Chinese, Left and Right, are as war-weary as I take them to be, and the alternative is military intervention.

If Great Britain, in addition, were to promise a China at peace the restoration of her British-owned ports, the inducement would be overwhelming. The Chinese are nationalists to a man: neither Government would dare to reject such an offer, and we should earn the lasting sympathy of the country—a more valuable asset,

even from the strategic point of view, than a corrupt and detested Kuomintang.

Britain would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by this gesture. If history has anything to teach, it is that a country emerging from a revolutionary war—whatever the victorious regime—is belligerently anti-foreign. Sooner or later our possession of Chinese cities, to which in any case we have no moral right, will be challenged; and even if we were in a position to defend them, which we are not, the attempt would be fatal. Whatever respect we have earned in Asia, by the evacuation of India and Burma, would be forfeit, and Communists everywhere would thrive on this new demonstration of "democratic" Imperialism.

Germany

ONE is always hesitant to suggest that a mere journalist may foresee more than the politician who has access to all the facts. But it was only too clear, when the Berlin blockade began, that the leaders of the Western Powers were caught off their guard by a move which every writer conversant with Communism had predicted months beforehand. And this makes me wonder whether they have yet taken into consideration the likely Russian withdrawal from Eastern Germany.

There is so much to be said for this step, from a Soviet point of view, that one might anticipate it even if there were no evidence of preparations afoot. It would leave the Western Powers to bear the whole odium of an Occupying Force, or else compel them to abandon their Zones to the Communist para-military formations.

In this situation, what would France, Britain and America do? There would be only one thing they could do to snatch victory out of defeat: invite the Western Zones to join them in the creation of a super-national authority, with a charter of human rights and power to enforce it, not only in Germany but throughout Western Europe.

Why wait?

IF that is the solution, however, why wait? The time to set up such an authority is now, not when we are forced to grant the Germans equal freedom merely because the Russians have granted them equal slavery.

It has been obvious for many months—it has become still more obvious in the past two weeks—that the French will never abandon their demand for international control of the German economy; and the Germans will never willingly submit to being the only people whose economy is internationally controlled. Last spring, the U.S. proposed that the whole Ruhr-Lorraine-Luxembourg industrial complex should be administered as a single unit. That is still necessary.

But it is even more important that political, as well as economic, sovereignty should be abolished. Only a Western Union that stands for a political ideal will evoke the loyalty of the peoples, including the Germans. Will the delegates conferring on United Europe convince their Governments of this, or make any practical suggestions for a start?

It hardly looks like it. If any one statement could have been calculated to estrange our political partners in Germany, it was Field-Marshal Montgomery's last week, that the frontier of Western Union would be the Rhine: in other words, that Western Germany was to be abandoned to the Russians as soon as it had served its purpose of supplying France, Benelux and Britain with arms. Good Generals rarely make good Europeans.

BLOOD SPORTS

The headquarters of the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports in Harenden, Herts, is 9 St. James Road, and not 7 St. James Street, Harpenden as stated by Maurice Cranston in last week's commentary.

MICHAEL TIPPETT

Speaking on
PEACE-MAKING TO-DAY
at
CARNegie HALL, NORTHAMPTON.
Sat., Nov. 27, 3 p.m.
Chairman Public heartily
Frank Dawtry invited.

Church and the Atom

BISHOPS ASKED TO THINK AGAIN

ARCHDEACON HARTILL called on the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England last week to declare that the use of the Atomic Bomb in any circumstances was a sin.

The Archdeacon was one of several speakers at the Church Assembly in London who condemned the report of the Church Commission on Atomic Power for its failure to give a moral lead and guidance at a time when such help was so urgently needed.

Dr. Hartill, who was a member of the Commission and signed a minority report published with the majority report last April, declared that the Commission showed a "lack of realism."

He deplored the fact that the report suggested the existence of an analogy between the methods of modern warfare and a policeman effecting an arrest. "Such a suggestion, if not so grave, would be laughable," he declared.

MORAL ABDICATION

A lad conscripted into the Army was taught that disobedience was high treason. If a conscript was asked to drop an atom bomb and asked for guidance from the Church he would find the Report only able to suggest that he should follow his own conscience.

"That is a total abdication of moral leadership," Dr. Hartill declared. He asked the members of the Assembly to place themselves in the position of an airman about to release an atom bomb from his aircraft.

"Could he or could he not pray 'God bless this act'?" If he could not, then surely it was the Church's business to declare that the airman must not do this act at all.

"Until the Church has the courage to say that, quite unconditionally and without any qualification, I think we will be failing in the witness we are giving to the reality and love of Jesus."

Dr. Bryn Thomas, moving the reference back of the Report, said, that it contravened traditional Catholic theology concerning lawful war and that people searched in vain for Christ's teaching in its pages.

Seconding, Mrs. Kerby denied that possession of the bomb was a constant insurance for peace and said that the use of it, regarded as permissible in certain circumstances, was a complete negation of the Church's teaching.

The Dean of Chichester, revealing a serious ignorance of the pacifist position, said that the Assembly had to decide whether the pacifist view, which he declared was, "that nothing was worse than war," was the Christian view.

Although he respected pacifists he was horrified by the human misery they had inflicted upon the world.

Newcastle protest against conscription

THE following resolution was passed on Nov. 6 at a Delegate Conference convened by the Newcastle No Conscription Council:

This Conference of Delegates representing the following organisations: Amalgamated Engineering Union (Newcastle 1st Branch); Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers; British-Soviet Society (Newcastle Branch); Co-operative Women's Guild (Central and Coadjutor Branches); Fellowship of Reconciliation (Newcastle Branch); Independent Labour Party (N.E. Divisional Council and Newcastle and Gateshead Branches); and Peace Pledge Union (Newcastle War Resisters), held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Nov. 6, 1948, affirms its resolute opposition to military conscription now, and calls on H.M. Government to repeal the National Service Act.

The discussion was opened by Mr. T. Scollan, M.P. for Renfrew. Mr. Scollan quoted Mr. Attlee's admission that the reason for conscription was not failure of recruiting, and pointed out that the argument that we need more men for overseas commitments would not bear investigation, in view of the evacuation of troops from India, Burma, Ceylon and other parts of the world. Mr. Scollan believed that a nation that was courageous enough to day to take the lead in a peace propaganda effort would do more service for humanity than all the militarists the world had ever known.

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Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"War—We Say No" is the title under which the new PPU campaign will be carried forward.

THERE are other peace campaigns in the country besides our own, including the new Women's Peace Movement and the Communist "Stop The Drive To War" campaign. The recent National Council statement made it plain that "where possible" the PPU would be ready "to co-operate with all who are endeavouring to avoid a third world war." Some of our members have expressed alarm, it being considered that we shall be "exploited" and "contaminated" by any co-operation with the Communist Party.

OUR GOAL IS CLEAR

This attitude seems to imply a suspicion of weakness in our own Movement and lack of steadfastness in our own purpose. Our goal is clear—renunciation of war, the creation of a society, in which not only atom bombs will be abolished, but war itself will have no place.

The road towards that goal is not before us ready-made—it has to be built as we go along, and those who go along with us cannot, when they deviate from us, lead us on to a branch road if we see our own goal clearly and, sure of our purpose and steadfast in our aim, go forward towards it. We cannot be "contaminated" by those who do not go with us all the way, but it may be that these very people will be shown the real way to peace as they walk beside us, and will eventually find it in their hearts to go with us all the way.

NEW FORM FOR OLD ABUSE

That we shall be misunderstood and called "fellow-travellers" (just as we were misunderstood and called Fascists and pro-Nazis in the war) is one of the burdens it is necessary for a pacifist to endure.

An uncompromising pacifist speech was made to thousands of people in Trafalgar Square last Sunday; on all such occasions and in our leaflets and our pamphlets our position must be made plain.

Never was unity and steadfastness more needed than at this moment. As I write this on my first day as a member of the PPU staff I am increasingly aware of how little I can do without the support of every single member of the Union, and how much I can do as one of a great whole all going the same way and carrying in their hearts the same ideal.

Don't forget Jan. 21 at the Central Hall, Westminster; Dec. 19 at the St. Andrew's Halls, Glasgow, and Dec. 16 at the Connaught Hall, Newcastle.

Besides, Birmingham and Manchester plans for big meetings. Rhys Davies, M.P., will speak at a public meeting at Leicester, Nov. 26 and at Kings Lynn Kenneth Trueman will speak at an open air meeting in the Market Place on Nov. 30 at 2 p.m.

SYBIL MORRISON.

Leicester P.P.U. Peace Campaign

WHEN on Thursday Nov. 25 at 7.30 p.m. Rhys Davies, M.P., speaks on "Stop the Drift to War" in the Methodist Church, Bishop Street, Leicester—a church seating a thousand people—it will be a fitting culmination to nearly a month of intensive activity by the Leicester Region Committee and Groups, aided by the PPU Field Worker, Kenneth Trueman.

Posters plastered in the centre of the city, an amplifying van visiting all parts of the town and the circulating of every known organisation and interested person, will inform the people of Leicester that Pacifism and the Peace Pledge Union exist and mean business.

Three Sunday evening Open Air meetings in the Market Place will also have taken place, the concluding one to be addressed by Harry Hilditch.

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NO FORNICATOR

or impure person, or man of unbridled lust, who is an idolator, has an inheritance in the Kingdom of the Anointed, and of God. Let no one deceive you with empty words.—Eph. V. 5-6.

Rejecting belief in a personal God, the idols of today are necessarily impersonal. Rationalism, Psychology, etc., supplant Baal and Astarte, in sanctifying the desires of "men of unbridled lust."

For, speaking extravagant words of vanity, they allure by sensual practises . . . promising FREEDOM . . . being themselves slaves of corruption.—2 Pet. II. 18-19.

Here is the testimony of Jesus

Let the filthy, be filthy still: and let the holy, be holy still. Behold! I am coming speedily; and my reward is with me to give to each one as his work is . . . Blessed are those who wash their robes . . . that they may enter . . . into the city. Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolators, and every one who loves and practises falsehood.—Rev. XXII. 11-15.

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